2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

623 to be the sun, although the word teioc, God, is sometimes used. An upward breathing without words had the same meaning (1). If 788 there was enough tobacco, three puffs might follow the invocation, making up the ceremonial four. The Keeper then passed the cigarette to the man at his right, calling him by the actual kinship term. The man gave the reciprocal term and puffed in the same ceremonial fashion. This passing of the cigarette with the kinship term is a preliminary to all important procedure.

The cigarette passed all the way around the circle, only one man smoking at a time. It was not passed to the young men. When it reached the Keeper again, he put it out by thrusting it, lighted end downward, into the ground beside him, to be lit again at the next interval between speeches. Usually one six-inch tube lasted the whole evening. In later days, when tobacco was more plentiful, any man who could brought his own. They lit cigarettes at a signal from the Keeper, "Now light the jointed reed!" puffed with invocation and passed to a neighbor with the kinship term just as had been done when there was one cigarette for all. Thus several men might be smoking at one time, but they all stopped at the word from the Keeper, "Place the jointed reed in the ground."

183 After the smoking the Keeper or sometimes a delegated speaker, addressed the assemblage: "Hail, my relatives!" and made the 623 regular opening speech. Though this was in the speaker's own words, its content was standardized. It was, in fact, the Papago moral code with whose points each wise man was supposed to be familiar. These points were: Be industrious. Be hunger enduring, cold enduring, thirst enduring. Practise running that your young men be swift in time of war and that your women be able to escape. Let every man keep his weapons ready. Have an extra bowstring. Have plenty of arrows. See that your women grind plenty of cornmeal so that you will be strong for fighting. See that your women segregate themselves at the proper time so that you will not lose your strength.

537 There was a definite technique for the admonition speech which 623 was different from that for the ritual orations. These latter were delivered in a sonorous voice with the accent on the last word of the sentence. The admonition speech had the normal accent but the voice was expressionless and exceedingly low. The same effect was used in admonitions to young people given at home. The monotonous murmur with its constant repetitions was, to the writer, almost hypnotic.

Fragmentary versions of such speeches follow:

"Well then! Will you not be ready? Will you not take care! Already I have said thus to you: that you shall make arrows,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter XI

THE PAPAGO CHILD IN HIS SOCIETY

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IN THE three chapters immediately preceding we have watched the Papago child grow up and approach the threshold of adulthood. We have seen what he learns and how he learns. It may be worth while at this point to consider briefly the applicability of this knowledge and why the child acquires it as easily and well as he appears to do.

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As we have seen, Papago mores governing the distribution of authority, and patterns of behavior among individuals are few and simple: young children should always be indulged; age has precedence over youth; superior status rightfully belongs to males; and, in all important matters, there should be unanimity of decision among those concerned.

These principles are so universally applicable that a Papago always knows how he is expected to behave when with other Papago. At the same time, these principles act as checks on one another and thus protect the individual. The oldest male of the group, who is granted authority on two counts (sex and age), cannot hold absolute control over his group so long as each member must approve his plans before action is taken. An old man is, logically, a leader in this society, but to wield power he must have character and wisdom that command respect. Similarly, any person who attempts to coerce those younger than himself may always be put in place by someone older. Ultimately, then, a Papago governs only to the degree that he has the consent of the governed, and concentration of authority is virtually impossible.

In the large Papago household, consisting of many people of all ages and both sexes, and in which there is always need for concerted action, these principles are in constant practice. A child has unlimited opportunity to learn, both by direct participation and by observation of the behavior of others.

Two facts are noteworthy in their effect on the development of the child's personality. First, the principles apply equally to *all* members of the household. No one relative, not even the mother, is so singled out that he has exclusive

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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rights to the child's affection or obedience. Just as there is no heavy emphasis on any one individual, there is also no individual who must be treated according to a unique set of rules (such as mother-in-law avoidance or the special relationships of nephew and maternal uncle which obtain in some societies). Though a child often feels no special intimacy with any one person in the household, he may cultivate such a relationship with whomever he pleases. 183 593 602

A second noteworthy fact is that the rules for behavior in the household are applicable to relationships with other Papago. It is assumed that a child's personal contacts will be with blood relatives, whether in his own or another village, and for the most part they are. Furthermore, the pattern of mild domination by the elders, tempered by careful consideration of each individual's opinion, persists in the larger affairs of village, district, and tribe. It is true that, in the recent development of district and tribal councils, the need for knowledge of English and of white ways has increased the status of young men and women with schooling. In the household and in local affairs involving only Papago, however, the old pattern still prevails.

The survey of Papago's interpersonal relationships has shown that there is no abrupt break between juvenile and adult life; there is no period of training, the end of which signals absolute maturity or heralds the sudden assumption of full adult responsibilities. There are no separate rules for the conduct of or toward youngsters. 183 884

The indulgence granted to young children may appear to contradict the above statements. But this indulgence may be regarded simply as an exaggerated respect for the child-individual's opinion. Because his rational faculties are as yet insufficiently developed and his training in group responsibility is in an embryonic stage at best, he must be humored in order to maintain peace within the family. As soon as, and to the extent that, he is capable of reasoning, the Papago spare no time or effort to work him into his proper position within the group, i.e., one individual with the right to a voice in and, ultimately, the approval of the course of concerted action. 183

By the time a Papago has reached biological maturity, he has, in general, accepted his role completely. He has achieved a neat balance between self-gratification and group consciousness, whereby he molds his personal desires into forms acceptable to the whole group.

It should be reiterated that no Papago child learns proper behavior by memorizing rules. He is told that a good man is one who is honest and industrious, kind and peaceful, but he eventually gains a reputation for industry only if he heeds the words of his elders—beginning with requests to bring in wood or tend the baby. It is equally certain that he can maintain peace with 183 84

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

183 861 his fellow-men and become known as a kind person only if he at all times respects the wishes of others, particularly those over whom he holds a superior position by reason of his sex or age.

155 183 Yet the machinery which impels the Papago to be peaceful, honest, and industrious is obscure. The dearth of punishment in child-training has been noted. Beginning in the second period of development, five to ten years, children are given ever increasing duties to perform. These tasks demand considerable time, often interrupt play, and are usually uninteresting. Yet parents have little difficulty in getting youngsters to work. The recalcitrant child is lectured or scolded; if he still refuses to obey, he is not ordinarily either compelled or punished.

Why does the Papago child usually accept responsibility without compulsion? Why, as an adult, with the personal freedom he enjoys, is he willing to subordinate his own desires in most matters to the will of the group?

First of all, the very early age at which training is begun is significant. Tots less than four years old are not infrequently given small tasks, and even at this time they are impressed with their responsibility for their younger siblings. This share-the-work program is begun early and maintained so continuously that it seldom fails to be effective. Among the Papago, children learn to work almost as soon as they learn to play; the happy childhood so much desired by adults for their children does not mean an utterly irresponsible one.

626 183 155 The second factor in the molding of Papago personality is one usually present in simple societies: public opinion censures those who deviate from accepted standards of conduct. In any community so small that all the members and their affairs are known to one another, this is a powerful force. Among the Papago there are almost no conventionalized variations from the normal behavior pattern; the guiding principles apply to everyone. No man can ignore them because of his wealth, position as village leader, or special skill. Rather such a man normally obscures his particular superiority and conducts himself in a manner hardly distinguishable from his average fellow-man. Personal achievement directed toward ostentatious self-gain is severely criticized by the Papago; the person who is outstanding in any way must maintain a modesty about his accomplishment that amounts almost to depreciation. At all times a Papago avoids drawing attention to himself and is embarrassed if he fails, for any person, child or adult, is ridiculed and criticized for conspicuous behavior. The facts that failure to perform in a socially approved manner will inevitably become common knowledge and that general censure is sure to follow constitute a powerful deterrent to breaking the mores.

Third, supernatural sanctions tend to enforce the Papago's sense of respon-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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sibility to his group. When very small, he is induced to do as his elders wish by the threat of illness caused by a displeased animal spirit or ghost. Supernatural sanctions also influence the Papago to maintain peaceful relations with his associates: not only is the Papago admonished constantly to avoid quarreling and becoming angry but he is also threatened with illness if he *thinks* badly of another or holds a grudge. Since there is scarcely anything that could stimulate a Papago to respect the feelings of his associates more effectively than his great fear of sickness, the Desert People evade situations which give rise to angry arguments. When together, they conceal their differences with politeness and an outwardly cordial manner. Grievances among them rarely reach a head; they are expressed in gossip or in still more indirect ways. Calling a spade a spade or dragging unpleasantness out into the open for airing and discussion is not admired, recommended, or practiced by the Papago. Their method is not a sneaky, grudge-bearing evasion but a realistic means of dealing with a problem inherent in their mode of living. Their world is small, and there is little escape from it; their interpersonal relations are restricted in number, intimate, and necessary for survival; the situation, to be tolerable, must be peaceful or at least under control in terms of every person concerned.

A fourth factor in the molding of Papago character and behavior is the emphasis on seniority. In all his interpersonal relationships, the young Papago is constantly reminded that the privileges of superior position belong to those with senior status. Adulthood is thereby enhanced; it is an achievement worth the striving. So the child turns his back on the things strictly juvenile. His chief forms of play are imitations of adult work, and at an early age he foregoes these for actual participation in adult duties and recreation. The difference between child and adult activity is not so much one of kind as of degree. Because he is everlastingly reminded of the privileges proper to seniority and adulthood, the child is always reaching for them. Mere age is not sufficient to reap the full benefit, however; children as well as adults gain responsibility and prestige only if they are industrious, and skilful in handling people. Reliability and capability may put a child in charge of his younger siblings. If he proves himself able to manage them diplomatically, he has established his superior position. At the same time he has learned to conduct himself in the way acceptable to the society; he has learned to govern and at the same time respect the wishes of those he governs. His industry and diplomacy have achieved for him respect, prestige, and authority. He knows that industry and diplomacy will be equally effective tools for him tomorrow and throughout his life. This assurance is sufficient compensation for the sacrifices and frustrations of today.

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177 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

464 The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

464 Another quality in the Desert People that makes
466 them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subser-
156 vience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind of action to arguments and recriminations from workers of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality.
[183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural for-
[867] ces, the main behavior requirements for smooth functioning of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation, and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

464 Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in
466 finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat off-
[191] set by their relatively poor understanding and command
[273] of the English language, and the high incidence of drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanisation will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.